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C. MILLER

ALFAX N. S.

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FOR WHICH

THE DOUGLAS GOLD MEDAL

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WILLIAM Q. KETCHUM, 18/8

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Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri : inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ, quod imitere, capias ; inde sædum inceptu, sædum exitu, quod vites.—*Livii Præf.*

THE History of the World presents to the inquiring mind hardly any subject more interesting, or which gives rise to more research and reflection, than that of Colonization. From the day when the fathers of the new world descended from mount Ararat in search of a new home, mankind have been a wandering and an emigrating race. And what in fact but the narrative of the rise and progress of Colonies constitutes the history of the nations of the earth ?

Of the might and grandeur, however, of those states which were anciently most distinguished for Colonization, scarcely a trace is now remaining. From the shores of wealthy Carthage the galley is no longer seen bearing away its turbulent citizens to a foreign coast ; the narrow limits of Phœnicia no longer send forth to distant lands its trading population ; the lament of emigrants leaving their loved land forever no longer resounds along the coasts of Greece ; far otherwise are the powers of Italy now occupied, than parcelling out a conquered province among its clamorous citizens. The scene is now changed ; the theatre of action is now removed to lands, of which the polished Greek or haughty Roman scarcely knew the name. Since their day the discovery of a new world, of which those sages never dreamt, has opened a field for Colonization with which nothing in olden times affords comparison. Nor ever, in any age, has the tide of emigration risen higher than during the

present century ; not only to this continent, but to other lands, yet more distant from the ancient world, multitudes are seen continually to hasten ; and the germ of future nations is budding and bursting forth with life and vigour.

Might it not then be profitable, as well as interesting, to inquire into the manner in which Colonies were founded in ancient times ? Might it not become us to discover the courses then pursued, and how far they resemble those adopted in modern days ? Does not prudence direct our attention to the rocks and quicksands on which many of our predecessors suffered shipwreck ? And does not the subsequent fate of all, whether the Colonizer or the Colony be regarded, demand the most serious attention of the legislator and the patriot ?

A large portion of Asia, Egypt, and the Eastern parts of Europe, was peopled at a very early age by emigration from countries bordering on the river Euphrates. The world being then all before them, and finding land in abundance wherever they chose to wander, little connection existed between the Colonists and those they left behind, and little system was adopted beyond the will of the heads of the families or tribes which formed the expedition.

The emigration of Cecrops and his followers from Egypt, and the settlement of Danaus and his adherents in the Peloponnesus ; as well as many other migrations about the same time to the shores of Phœnicia and the islands of the Mediterranean, were probably all connected with revolutions in the government of that country, the policy of which appears to have been rather to employ its surplus population in immense public works and internal improvements, than to send out Colonies ; so that whatever was the origin of those early migrations from Egypt, the emigrants appear to have chosen their own

place of settlement, and taking possession of as much of the country as their strength and numbers would permit, to have formed themselves into communities perfectly independent of the country from which they came.

The Colonies of Phœnicia, the parent of navigation and commerce, next demand our attention. That the Phœnicians were remarkable at a very early age for their Arts and Manufactures is well known to the reader of history, sacred or profane. Possessed of a narrow slip of territory between Mount Libanus and the Mediterranean, that active and intelligent people naturally had recourse to Colonization for the purpose of extending their commerce, and providing for a redundant population. Along the northern coast of Africa, as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and on the opposite coast of Spain, in Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Balearic Isles, were planted Colonies from Phœnicia; in fact there was scarcely a sea or coast known to the ancients in which these "Merchant Princes" did not establish a settlement.

So few particulars, however, are known of the history of this enterprising people, that it is difficult to discover the system they adopted, or the nature of the connection between the Colony and the Parent State. A bond of union in some cases existed, as we find the Phœnicians refused to aid the Persian King against Carthage; and the latter city, after it had risen to great wealth and power, continued to send yearly to Tyre a ship laden with presents as a dutiful acknowledgment to their ancient country.*

The Carthaginians even surpassed the Phœnicians in the number and extent of their Colonies. When from a Colony of Merchants, Carthage had become a warlike and powerful Republic, the Government seem to have

*Herodotus Lib. iii. 17—19.

resorted to emigration as well to relieve it from a surplus and turbulent population, as to extend its dominion and its commerce. When Hanno was sent by the Senate to explore the western coast of Africa, he is said to have been attended by a convoy containing 30,000 persons to Colonize the countries he might discover. But whether those distant settlements flourished, or how far they were protected by the Mother Country, we are not informed by the historian.

It certainly appears quite evident, that the greater part of the Colonies to which we have referred, after they had left their native shores, were so far independent as to choose their own mode of Government uncontrolled by the Parent State. If the Colony flourished, and a connection was likely to conduce to their mutual benefit, no doubt a feeling of good will would continue to exist between them. But under other circumstances, would the Governments of Phœnicia or Carthage, perpetually engaged as they were in projects of wealth or ambition, be likely to interpose and ward off the blow of the oppressor? Was the Colony really considered as a portion of the Empire, and equally entitled to protection with those who remained at home? Or does not the very fact of their being generally left to choose their own mode of Government, rather lead us to the conclusion that Colonies in those days were looked upon as offsets separated from the parent stock, left to take root without any regular plantation, and having little protection to expect if they did not contribute to the wealth and dominion of the colonizing State?

In turning our attention to Greece, we are at once struck with the frequent migrations to and from that illustrious country. In very early ages, the historian informs us of the Phœnician trader and Egyptian exile taking advantage of its excellent harbours and salubrious

climate, and Greece swarmed with multitudes from almost every part of the known World. So soon as the administration of the Laws had attained any consistency, and the Arts had begun to be cultivated, we read of invasions and revolutions, and civilization and refinement flying with the ancient inhabitants to flourish on a foreign soil. And while the heart is pained by the frequent accounts of exterminating wars, driving whole communities into exile, we find the Governments also, during intervals of peace, resorting to emigration to relieve them from the dangers of a discontented populace; and in some cases forming distant settlements for purposes of commerce.

Colonies, founded like those of Asia Minor and Italy, by persons whom the violence and fury of contending factions forced into exile, formed themselves into communities totally independent of the Parent State; neither do those appear to have been subject to its jurisdiction, who went out in more peaceable times, under the direction of their leaders to seek an easier subsistence in a foreign land. We are informed that a Colony sent out by Corinth, a state superior to any in Greece in naval power, able both to afford protection and command obedience, was considered as bound to respect the mother country so long only as she treated it with kindness;* and was ready when occasion might offer to act in opposition to its views. Hence we must conclude that the greater part of the Grecian Colonies became from the time of their formation, independent states, and although they regarded the land of their forefathers with filial respect, and yielded to its citizens the first place at public games and religious solemnities, when called upon to assist in time of war they did so not as subjects but as allies.

Proceed we now to search the records of a people

* Thucydides Lib. 1, 34.

differing widely from any we have hitherto considered. From the time when Rome had become a powerful state, and "was beginning to root up or cast down all that kept her from the eyes and admiration of the world,"* almost every page of her history presents some account of her Colonies. The conqueror had not fully completed the subjection of a country, until its towns were filled with trustworthy Roman citizens, or with veteran soldiers too aged for the hardships of the camp. The primary object of the government undoubtedly was to secure the allegiance of its conquered Provinces; but we find the Senate also providing for emigration, in order to reward their veteran soldiers; and in times of want, to prevent sedition, and allay the discontent of their people.

Knowing too well the importance of every citizen of Rome in adding to her power, to allow any interest to be created separate from that of the commonwealth, we find the political connection between the Colony and the Parent State in all cases complete. The Romans were not led to establish their citizens on foreign coasts merely for purposes of traffic; their subjects were not allowed to go when and where they chose and do as they thought proper, but in whatever country, on whatever coast, a Roman Colony was founded, there the authority of Rome was established to fade away only with the downfall of the Empire itself.

If the liberties of the Roman Colonies were circumscribed, and their advancement somewhat retarded by being compelled to contribute to the support of the home government, it may be a question for the politician to decide, whether these evils were not counterbalanced by the just administration of Roman laws, and the protection to which, in those turbulent times, they were entitled.

* Sir W. Raleigh's *His. of the World*, B. v. c. vi.

While we reflect on the Colonies thus founded by Rome, as well calculated to support her authority and extend her empire, the beneficial effects they produced are clearly manifest. With their Colonies in Spain, Gaul, on the banks of the Rhine, and in Britain, the Romans implanted civilization and a knowledge of their language and their laws; and it requires little sagacity still to discover the imprint of their empire on many of the existing nations of Europe.

In thus endeavouring to investigate the ancient system of Colonization, we have glanced at events which might afford matter of lively interest to the reflecting mind. The man, who, not entirely engrossed with objects immediately around him, sometimes allows his thoughts to stray backward to the transactions of the past, discovers in every age results, the most important to mankind, arising from Colonization. At first, he contemplates the little band of Emigrants slowly proceeding from the East towards the plains of Shinaar, in search of new homes and a more easy mode of subsistence. Ages have passed away, and he again beholds the descendants of those Emigrants scattered far over the face of the earth, founding Kingdoms and Empires, and making rapid progress in a knowledge of the arts esteemed essential to the well being of man. Being at length formed into communities, and governed by settled Laws, does the interested inquirer find man a stationary being, or rather is he not ever found ready for change? He sees from the crowded cities of wealthy and refined states, troops of Emigrants bidding their native shores farewell, prepared to carry to distant, barbarous lands, a knowledge of the improvements they have acquired. While he observes many indeed forced by dire necessity thus to wander from their homes, others are seen, fond of change, and encouraged by hope, exclaiming with the Poet—

Nos manet oceanus circumvagus : arva beata
Petamus arva, divites et insulas.*

In other cases, rulers of nations urged by motives of policy, encourage this spirit, and the tide rolls forth controlled by the power of the state.

Colonies founded by exiles from their country, as well as by those who voluntarily leave their homes, are observed to be bound by no ties to their father land. Free in their institutions, and highly superior in the arts of civilized life to the inhabitants of the countries in which they are settled, such Colonies often rise in a short time to a high pitch of wealth and importance, but depending solely on their own resources both to control internal commotion and to ward off attacks from without, few are found prepared to withstand the storms with which they are assailed, and are only called to our remembrance through the pages of the historian. A better fortune will generally be found to have attended those Colonies founded under the direction of the parent state and considered as still subject to its laws ; where authority was retained to afford protection and support, and this power exercised with justice and wisdom.

These, therefore, appearing to be some of the leading facts connected with ancient Colonization, let us now proceed to that of modern times, and discover what resemblance exists between them.

The discoveries made by the Portugese in the commencement of the fifteenth century along the coast of Africa, led to the formation of Colonies in those fertile regions. Taking possession of some islands and points of land on the coast, they sent out Colonies under Military Governors, to protect the trade with the natives and to keep the latter in subjection.

*Horace Epis. 16. 41, 43.

But while Portugal was thus increasing her revenues, and exciting the jealousy of less fortunate States, all Europe was aroused by the astounding news—that a new World was discovered in the West. This event, so startling, as to absorb all else hitherto considered wonderful, quickly awoke the attention of mankind to objects of enterprise and ambition ; and excited by fondness for change, and the love of gold, the restless and daring were ready to exert all their energies in this new direction. Could the veil which guards the unseen future have then been removed, what a change in the destinies of that world by Colonies from Europe, would a glance into futurity have discovered !

The Colonies of Spain, under whose patronage America was discovered, seem first to demand our attention. Extensive conquests had been made by the Spaniards, guided by individual enterprise, and many Colonies had been planted, while the Government at home was so engrossed with schemes of ambition, as to afford little attention to objects so remote. But after that “gambling spirit” which actuated the first settlers in America had in part subsided ; and the Colonies, enlarged by frequent emigrations from home, began to turn their attention to those commercial and agricultural pursuits, for which their country afforded so many advantages, the home Government began to perceive the necessity of its interference both to restrain the cruel oppression of the Colonists, and to secure the mother Country all the advantages of their commerce.

The prerogatives of the Sovereigns of Spain, being at that time widely extended, and all the lands in America having been granted to them by the Pope, every thing relating either to the government or general interests of the Colonists necessarily emanated from the crown. And, if we consider the manner in which this

power was exercised, the severe restrictions imposed on the trade of the Colonies, the destructive duties and enormous taxes they were compelled to pay, the complete despotism of the administration in which the Colonists were allowed no share, the vicious character of their system will be clearly apparent, and also the causes, which in the end, lost to Spain her extensive possessions in America.

It is true, that from the time when the Sovereigns of Spain assumed the right, which they were so well prepared to maintain, of holding the Colonies in complete subjection to their will, in this respect their system somewhat resembled that of the Romans. And as the Roman Colonies conveyed to the countries in which they were planted the superior advantages of their civilization and their laws, so the Spaniards, together with their civil principles and habits, carried with them to America the profession of the Christian faith; and however we may deplore the errors of their religion, as well as of their polity, and the superstition they mingled with the purity of the Gospel, we cannot but admire that part of their system, by which the establishment of that profession was strictly enjoined, and the Colonial Government were bound to maintain it. And as, whatever may have been the defects of the Roman system, the Colonies willingly submitted to the parent State; so Spain, for a long course of years held rule over a country exceeding Europe in extent: although now at length, from the vices inherent in the whole body, of all that vast Empire, only two Islands remain her own.

The system adopted by Portugal towards her Colonists in Brazil, seems so much to resemble that of Spain, and produced results so similar, that it were unnecessary to dwell on the subject. Equally unprofitable would it be to consider at length the system of the different Euro-

pean States, which when the authority of Spain was no longer able to prevent it, sent out Colonies in all directions to America. It may be sufficient to observe that the Dutch, the Danes and the French, severally formed their Colonies under the management of exclusive companies, a system differing materially from any pursued in ancient times.

Let us now proceed to investigate the system adopted by that country, which for many ages was known to the world, only as a far distant Island whose dangerous coast was to be sought merely for the mines contained beneath its soil. The lofty position England now occupies in the world, the mighty and salutary influence, which, by her wise laws, her free institutions, and the active benevolence of her people, she exercises over mankind, might well claim our attention, apart from other more special considerations, which render her course of Colonization a matter of peculiar interest.

Although British Colonization had its origin in projects of traffic, and was for many years like that of other European states, under the control of chartered companies, the government at length assumed the administration, and the inhabitants of those distant settlements were admitted, as far as their circumstances were considered to allow, to all the privileges of British subjects, as much entitled to protection as if the widely extended ocean did not separate them from their father land. By their charters, the Sovereigns of England were from the first careful to provide for the liberties of the emigrants; and when those charters were withdrawn, the Colonies were declared to constitute a portion of the empire, subject to its jurisdiction, having their governors and councils appointed by the crown, their houses of assembly chosen by the colonists, and statutes were enacted by the Colonial Assemblies, in a manner analogous to the practice of the British Parliament.

Not entering with some of her politicians into *nice calculations*, to prove that she expends more in their defence than she gains by the commerce of her Colonies, England has ever appeared satisfied, that while she thus affords employment, and secures a home to the millions who leave her shores, she at the same time provides, in many a distant land, for many a flourishing settlement, the blessings of that constitution which the wisest of her sons have prized as their dearest heritage.

In again reverting to the history of Colonies in ancient times, we perceive exiles leaving the fertile land of Egypt, and the populace of Phœnicia and Carthage sent forth to form Colonies in distant lands ; but where do we find among these, aught to compare with what we are now considering ? Violence and oppression compelled enlightened Greeks to seek for peaceful homes on foreign coasts, and sometimes the powerful arm of the state was exerted to send out its needy people to a more plentiful country, but where do we find legislators providing for these settlements wise laws and free institutions ? Where are the people *at home* found ready to supply fleets and armies for their defence ; in time of peace, encouraging and promoting industry, and at the sound of war, ready to save from impending ruin ? Mighty Rome, to carry forward her projects of ambition, and assist in subduing the world to her yoke, established her citizens in distant provinces ; protected indeed they were by the power of the state, and participating of some of its privileges and benefits, yet loaded with taxes for the support of its establishment, and liable to be summoned at any moment to fill up the ranks of its legions. But whatever gave rise to emigration from England, whether the emigrants went forth as private adventurers, traders, or exiles, whether composed of puritans or papists, the blessings of British laws and the protection of British arms are gratuitously extended to all alike. As free in their institutions as the Colonies

of Greece, as sure of protection as those of Rome, not left like the former exposed to every assault, nor compelled like the latter at every call to leave their peaceful occupations for the toils of war, the Colonies of England afford us a different picture ;—a mother country providing at her own expense for their defence, and maintaining in their internal government the administration of her superior laws. The devoted loyalists, who disdained to submit to the will of those who had revolted against their king, and fled for refuge to the trackless wilderness, are protected by her powerful arm ; and being aided in their destitution by her bounty, they teach their children to love and reverence the name of England. Does the crowded state of her own land restrain the energies of her enterprising sons ? In the Colonies they find industry encouraged and the laws of their country justly administered. While they remain true to themselves, and loyal to their sovereign, no revolutionist durst assail the institutions under which their fathers lived, no foreign foe durst invade their rights.

In ancient times the inhabitants of the country, in which a Colony was settled, were often either reduced to slavery, or driven from their homes by the more powerful intruders ; but in common with the emigrants from England's shores are the rude savages in the wilds around them taken under her protection. Look at her vast empire in the East ; see there millions subject to her rule, the arm of the oppressor restrained, and the cruelty of the despot forbidden, wherever her authority extends. Mark the *system* she has pursued in her West Indian possessions ; at the cost of millions, for which no return was sought, see the shackles forever loosened from the slave, and the decree proclaimed to an admiring world, that where Britain's power is felt, there man is free. Confine the view to more narrow limits, and you see the Canadian Frenchman and the untutored

Indian appeal to the same power, and justice administered alike to all.

The Colonies from Egypt, that mighty mother of superstition, carried with them to other countries a more refined system of idolatry, and a knowledge of many useful arts; Cadmus brought with his Colony into Greece the use of letters, and polished Greeks in after times carried with them to other lands a knowledge of their superior attainments. While modern Colonization thus spreads abroad the civilization and refinement of the old world, England discovers her especial solicitude that the paths of literature may be opened to her most distant subjects. She founds by her Royal Charters seats of learning in her Colonies, and secures a provision for their support; she sends forth teachers trained in her venerable schools, under whose guidance the sons of the Colonists may acquire that learning, which she feels to have most essentially contributed to her own internal welfare and elevation amidst the nations of mankind.

But while such disinterestedness and generosity fill the mind with gratitude and admiration, might it not be well to inquire whether the system adopted by the government in the formation of its Colonies, may not have been in some points defective?

In ancient times it mattered little perhaps whether the Colony adhered to the idolatry of their father land or inclined to the superstitions of their adopted country. But when "the Star appeared in the East," and the benign light of truth shone forth on a darkened world, the man who had received the peculiar blessing was required to communicate it to the unenlightened. The more exalted his station, and the greater the influence at his command, the more imperatively is he called

upon thus to ameliorate the condition, and secure the lasting happiness of his fellow beings. In sending out Colonies, therefore, one would naturally suppose, that the first care of the Christian ruler and legislator would be, to provide that "the lamp" of the blessed Gospel should not "go out" when the emigrants had left their homes, but that the faith of their fathers should be extended and maintained in the most distant portions of the empire.

Search around the world, and in no other land, under the rule of no other monarch, will you find a people so cherished, so privileged, so free, as the subjects of England's sovereign in her widely extended Colonies. Yet amid all these blessings it were useless to deny, that evils exist, deeply to be deplored, in matters most closely effecting their permanent well being.

Could the government of Great Britain, wherever her Colonies were originally planted, have duly established and provided for the support of that Church, for whose accordance with the primitive truth of Christianity, so many a martyr suffered, and which while asserting its own rights allows (in these days at least) liberty of conscience to all: or had the opportunity been taken, when the subsequent state of a Colony became more favourable to such an establishment, much of that animosity, much of that factious spirit, generated by our unhappy divisions, might have been averted.

But while the present aspect of many of the British Colonies call forth these reflections, we should not fail to notice that *the people* of England have never forgotten the wants of their Colonial brethren. The trees of the forest having given way to the labour of the hardy Emigrant, many a House of Prayer is reared, and many a pious Missionary sent forth, to point out to the settlers

the path to Heaven. Many an Emigrant kneeling at the humble altar thus erected, and listening to those words of piety and peace to which he was accustomed in his ancient home, feels, that although exposed to hardships, and in a distant land, his best interests are regarded by those who have thus remembered *the wants of the Soul*.

But however pleasing it might be to dilate on these effects of Christian benevolence, the limits of the present Essay warn us to hasten its conclusion.

It has been the object of our inquiry to point out the most important facts relating to ancient Colonization; proceeding then with the inquiry into the formation of Colonies in modern times, we have endeavoured to compare the systems adopted in those important transactions, in different ages of the World.

We have seen, that while for the most part ancient Colonization originated from circumstances connected with the Government of States, modern Colonies were generally sent out, in the first place at least, for purposes of Commerce, to increase the trade and revenues of the Mother Country: that while, in days of antiquity, important Colonies were oftentimes founded by persons compelled to leave their native land, Governments are also seen to resort to Emigration, but leaving the Colonies entirely to themselves, and regarding them rather as their allies than subjects. In ages less remote, mankind are found as ready for change as in older time; and while the crowded cities of the Old World are continually sending forth their needy multitudes, in no instance are they observed to form communities unconnected with the Parent State. The greater part of the ancient Colonies, those of Rome excepted, were considered as separated from the parent stock, the Mother

Country paying little regard to their destiny ; in modern times, the movement of the Emigrants appears rather to excite than diminish feelings of good will, and some bond of union generally connects the Colony with its father land.

Had the Greeks pursued a different policy towards their Colonies, had their interests been more closely united, had those fond feelings which every Emigrant must entertain towards his ancient home been carefully cherished, might we not reasonably have looked for a different fate to both State and Colony? Had Rome, instead of loading her Colonies with taxes to support her fading grandeur, more closely studied the happiness of her people, would she not have been better able to have resisted that "torrent from the North," which, spreading like a dark cloud over her Empire, swept away State and Colony alike? In later times Spain and Portugal adopted a system a little different ; but equally eager to secure their own objects at the sacrifice of the best interests of the Colonies, finally lost that assistance and support which they were so well calculated to afford.

Nearly three centuries have now passed away, since the father of English Colonization* attempted to form a settlement across the broad Atlantic ; and although since that time an independent republic has been formed from many of her Colonies—long cherished and protected, England's prosperity is apparently undiminished ; she is still found able to defend her most distant subjects ; and while increasing her empire and extending her influence by her Colonies, she still contributes to maintain the peace of the world.

Reminded, however, by the reflection, that all these

*Sir W. Raleigh.

things are controlled by that Almighty Power which "in the beginning laid the foundations of the earth," we are led to take a chastened view of those vast transactions in which man has acted so prominent a part, and to regard him as the mere agent effecting the rise and fall of Kingdoms and Empires.

The proud nations of antiquity and their numerous Colonies, were but fulfilling the purposes of a Being whose attributes they little understood. This accomplished, His fiat went forth, that those bounds were reached beyond which they should not pass, and the sepulchres of their heroes became the chief witness to posterity of their once boasted grandeur.

The reflecting mind of the observer of past events can readily discover ample cause, why "the perfect judge of all the earth" should thus have "visited the nations," and made many a prosperous state, many a flourishing Colony, a gloomy desert. Cruelty, oppression and wrong are "abominations in His sight," and that nation will eventually suffer by which such transgressions of His eternal law are committed.

But may He who holds in His hand the destinies of Empires, so guide the counsels of *our* Rulers, that the increase of His Kingdom may be the first subject of their deliberations! Then will the State still flourish, and the Colony be happy.